

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 IO-12 DPW-01 NIC-01 ACDA-19 OMB-01 AID-20

IGA-02 EB-11 TRSE-00 RSR-01 /174 W
----- 068003

R 131145 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0097

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SAIGON 6287

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR VS

SUBJECT: INDODEL' S FRUSTRATIONS MOUNT

1. SUMMARY: DEPUTY CHIEF OF INDODEL REVIEWED WITH EMBOFF GROWING FRUSTRATIONS ENCOUNTERED BY HIS DELEGATION AND PESSIMISTIC OUTLOOK INDOS POSSESS REGARDING GVN/ PRG RELATIONS AND WORK OF ICCS. INDONESIAN APPEAL ON RACIAL GROUNDS TO TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES HAS BROUGHT NO RETURN. INDODEL FEELS ISOLATED. IMPACT OF TONG LE CHAN IMPASSE AND LAO BAO HELICOPTER INCIDENT APPEARS TO BE GREATER ON INDODELS THAN ON OTHER ICCS MEMBERS. INDOS ANXIOUS TO KNOW HOW LONG US WILL PERMIT PRG " TO CALL THE TUNE". FRUSTRATIONS ENHANCED BY INABILITY OF INDODEL TO CAPTURE PRESS ATTENTION. SOURCE REQUESTED EMBASSY ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING BROADER RANGE OF LOCAL DIPLOMATIC AND VIETNAMESE CONTACTS. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING INTENSE AND OFTEN SOMEWHAT EMOTIONAL DISCUSSION OF ALMOST TWO HOURS, DEPUTY CHIEF OF INDODEL, AMBASSADOR IMRAD IDRIS, REVEALED FULL EXTENT OF INDODEL FRUSTRATION AND DEPRESSION
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AT END OF ELEVEN WEEKS OF CEASEFIRE AND ALMOST TWO WEEKS OF
INDONESIAN CHAIRMANSHIP OF PLENARY. SPEAKING WITH EMOTION,
IDRIS NOTED INDONESIA HAS A FAR GREATER INTEREST IN OUTCOME
OF EVENTS IN SVN THAN ANY OTHER OF THREE ICCS COLLEAGUES.
INDOS HAVE MADE THIS POINT REPEATEDLY TO POLES AND HUNGARIANS,
AS WELL AS TO GVN AND PRG. IDRIS STATED POSITION OF SUHARTO
GOVERNMENT VIS- A- VIS COMMUNIST THREAT REQUIRES NO ELABORATION.
PRIMARY INTEREST OF INDOS IS TO OBTAIN PEACE IN SEA. INDODEL
IS INCREASINGLY
FRUSTRATED AT THE ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE OF GVN/ PRG
PROGRESS TOWARD REDUCTION OF TENSION IN SVN.

3. IDRIS STATED INDOS HAVE APPEALED TO BOTH GVN AND PRG ON
GROUNDS THAT COMMON COLOR OF INDO' S SKIN WITH VIETNAMESE
EXEMPLIFIES WHY FORMER HAVE GREATER INTEREST IN PEACE IN VIETNAM
THAN OTHER MEMBERS OF ICCS, OR, FOR THAT MATTER, MOST OF THE
OTHER MAJOR ACTORS IN THE DRAMA. INDOS HAD BELIEVED THIS APPEAL,
FACT THAT INDONESIANS ARE THE ONLY ASIANS IN ICCS, THAT
INDONESIAN PURSUES A NON- ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT
INDONESIA CAN FACILITATE MEMBERSHIP IN ASEAN SHOULD HAVE BEEN
FACTORS GIVING INDONESIANS SPECIAL LEVERAGE IN SITUATION.
NEVERTHELESS, TO THE CONSIDERABLE DISTRESS OF THE INDODEL,
NOT ONLY HAVE THE TWO SVN PARTIES GENERALLY REBUSSSED INDO
EFFORTS, BUT - THE LAO BAO INCIDENT, HAS MADE INDO PLENARY
CHAIRMANSHIP THIS MONTH EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. INDOS ARE DIS-
COURAGED THAT NEITHER SIDE SEEMS TO ACCEPT THEM. IDRIS NOTED
GVN, DESPITE FRIENDLY STANCE OF INDODEL VIS- A- VIS SAIGON
GOVERNMENT, SEEMS TO IGNORE INDODEL. AT THIS POINT INDRIS REQUESTED
EMBASSY ASSISTANCE IN INTRODUCING INDOLELS TO KEY GVN AUTHOR-
ITIES, COMMENTING US AND GOI INTERESTS IN SITUATION ARE ESSENT-
IALLY IDENTICAL.

4. ELABORATING ON DISILLUSIONMENT IN FIRST TWO WEEKS AS CHAIRMAN,
IDRIS STATED INDOS HAD HOPED APRIL COULD BE
A MONTH OF BREAKTHROUGH IN THE ICCS, WITH INDOS ARRANGING
COMPROMISES AND WORKING WITH TWO VIETNAMESE PARTIES. INSTEAD
THEY HAVE BEEN CONFRONTED WITH MAJOR CRISES SUCH AS TONG LE
CHAN AND LAO BAO, AND THE SITUATION IS NOW CRITICAL. WHILE
PRAISING CANADIAN PERFORMANCE, IDRIS NEVERTHELESS EXPRESSED
IRRITATION AT THE CANADIAN POSITION ON AN INDODEL PROPOSED
DRAFT LETTER RE TONG LE CHAN APRIL 5, AND EVEN GREATER
EXASPERATION THAT DESPITE INDODEL WARNING IN ADVANCE, CANADIANS
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HAD INSISTED ON SUBMITTING A ALTERNATE DRAFT LETTER ON AGENDA FOR APRIL 7. (ITEM WAS NOT DISCUSSED UNTIL APRIL 11.) INDODEL COULD NOT BACK OFF FROM THEIR OWN PREVIOUS DRAFT WITHOUT LOSING FACE - AND THUS WERE OBLIGED TO DENY SUPPORT TO CANADIAN DRAFT, CANADIANS HAS NEVERTHELESS GONE AHEAD WITH THEIR PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS DEFEATED 3-1. ASKED WHETHER INDODEL PERCEIVED POLISH AND HUNGARIAN EFFORTS TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN CANDEL AND INDODEL, IDRIS SAID, " OF COURSE. WE ARE AWARE OF THAT. DON' T WORRY ABOUT THAT."

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5. LAO BAO HELICOPTER INCIDENT HAS HAD TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON INDODEL, IDRIS ACKNOWLEDGED. HE REVEALED THAT AT APRIL 11 PLENARY INDODEL HAD PROPOSED THAT ALL HELICOPTER FLIGHTS BE HALTED, ALL INVESTIGATIONS BE HALTED, AND ALL ICCS SUB- REGIONAL TEAMS BE WITHDRAWN TO REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS IMMEDIATELY. (IN EMBASSY DEBRIEFING OF CANDEL RE APRIL 11 PLENARY, CANDEL HAD REFUSED TO DISCUSS INDO PROPOSALS, SIMPLY STATING EMBASSY WOULD HAVE TO ASK INDO THEMSELVES FOR NATURE OF THOSE PROPOSALS.) IDRIS CONTINUED THAT EVEN THE INDONESIANS HAVE THEIR LIMITS. IF THE TWO COMBATANTS, WHO SEEM TO CONTINUE TO WANT TO

SLUG IT OUT ARE UNABLE TO PROGRESS TOWARD SOME SORT OF SETTLEMENT, INDONESIA WILL NOT INDEFINITELY REMAIN ON SCENE TO BE "SACRIFICED NEEDLESSLY".

6. INDODEL ASKED WHAT US REACTION TO LAO BAO INCIDENT IS, AND INQUIRED HOW LONG US WOULD PERMIT PRG TO "CALL THE TUNE". EMBOFF REVIEWED FOR IDRIS US EFFORTS VIS- A- VIS POLISH AND HUNGARIAN TO ACHIEVE MORE OBJECTIVE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR UNDERTAKINGS IN ICCS. IDRIS REPLIED: "GOOD. WE ARE ALL FOR THAT. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE MAIN ACTORS - MOSCOW AND HANOI?"

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7. ONCE AGAIN WITH FEELING, IDRIS DECRIED ISOLATED POSITION OF INDODEL. LOCAL DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY HAS PAID LITTLE HEED TO INDODEL. LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS IS INTERESTED ONLY IN CHIEF CANDEL GAUVIN, AND WHEN DHARSONO - AS PLENARY CHAIRMAN MADE STATEMENT ON LAO BAO INCIDENT TO INTERNATIONAL PRESS IGNORED US AND LOCAL PAPER REPORTED "ICCS SPOKESMAN SAID..."

8. FINALLY, WHEN EMBOFF FOLLOWED UP EARLIER OFFER TO INDODEL FOR EMBASSY POLITICAL AND MILITARY BRIEFINGS FOR INDODEL, SEEKING

INDODELL DECISION/ PREFERENCES, IDRIS STATED INDODEL FRANKLY CONCERNED ABOUT SENSITIVITY THIS SUBJECT IN VIEW OF STRONG

POSSIBILITY POLISH AND HUNGARIANS MIGHT BECOME AWARE OF BRIEFINGS. HE STATED INDOS OF COURSE INTERESTED, BUTP BELIEVED SOMEWHAT MORE INDIRECT APPROACH WOULD BE SAFER. HE REQUESTED EMBASSY ASSISTANCE TO INTRODUCE INDONESIANS TO "PEOPLE OF EMBASSY'S CHOOSING" SUCH AS THIRD COUNTRY MILITARY ATTACHES, RESIDENT DIPLOMATS, RELEVANT GVN OFFICIALS, ETC. EMBOFF PROMISED TO UNDERTAKE CAMPAIGN IN THIS DIRECTION.

9. COMMENT: THIS WAS BY FAR THE MOST EMOTIONAL, FRANK AND HARD-HITTING DISCUSSION WE HAVE HAD WITH INDODEL THUS FAR. IDRIS EXHIBITED NONE OF THE USUAL CASUAL INDONESIAN STYLE. THE COMBINATION OF FRUSTRATIONS AND TRAUMA OF LAO BAO HAVE OBVIOUSLY HIT THE INDONESIANS. THEIR APRIL 11 PLENARY PROPOSALS ON LAO BAO DEMONSTRATED HOW THIN THEIR PATIENCE IS AT THIS STAGE, AND REFLECTED A CERTAIN LASHING OUT AT THE FRUSTRATIONS. QUIET EFFORTS TO COMPROMISE HAVE FAILED TO GAIN ATTENTION. THEY ARE PIQUED THAT THEY ARE LESS NEWSWORTHY THAN GAUVIN. THEY SEEM UNABLE TO GRASP WHY THEIR "ASIAN APPEAL" HAS HAD NO IMPACT ON THE TWO PARTIES.

10. EMBASSY WILL UNDERTAKE EFFORTS TO DEVELOP OPPORTUNITIES TO INTRODUCE INDONESIANS TO WIDER CIRCLE OF LOCAL CONTACTS, EXPAND OPPORTUNITIES TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH INDOS, PROVIDE

REGULAR FLOW OF INFORMATION TO INDODEL VICE MORE FORMAL
BRIEFINGS WHICH INDONESIANS APPARENTLY DO NOT WISH, AND WILL
ALSO ATTEMPT TO INTEREST A FEW FRIENDLY PRESS CONTACTS TO PAY
MORE HEED TO INDODEL, AT LEAST WHILE DHARSONO IS CHAIRMAN.
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